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ART. II.—*History of Piedmont.* By ANTONIO GALLENGA.
London: Chapman and Hall. 1855. 3 vols. 12mo.

SOME of our readers may remember an Italian exile, whose course of lectures on the history and literature of his country, delivered to a select audience in Boston, nearly twenty years ago, were alike remarkable for their comprehensive scope, their authentic and minute details, and the command they evinced of our vernacular tongue. When afterwards published in England, they became one of the standard books illustrative of an apparently inexhaustible theme.* For some years after his visit to the United States, the author contributed to the London periodicals; and, like Foscolo and Rufini, relieved the lot of an exile by the graceful labors of the pen. Having married in the land which thus afforded him an independent asylum, when the throes of revolution again convulsed the peninsula, he returned to become a representative from Sardinia to the German revolutionary diet at Frankfort. The sensitive and melancholy temperament of Mariotti, as he called himself while in exile, his thoughtfulness and reserve, not less than his personal appearance, bespoke the Northern Italian; and his career is a singular illustration of the modern vicissitudes of his country and the fate of her citizens. In the youthful fervor of his republican zeal, when a victim to Austrian despotism, which had driven him from Parma while yet a student, he became one of the ardent disciples of Mazzini, and left Switzerland for Turin with the purpose of a deliberate regicide in his heart. The aspirations of a patriot, and the exasperated blood of a youth made a penniless fugitive by the most subtle and cruel of all tyrannies, account for, if they do not palliate, this vindictive impulse. A fatal catastrophe was averted by accidental circumstances. The impetuous refugee was spared the ignominy of a Ravailac and a Sand. The dagger, with its handle of *lapis lazuli*, consecrated to the bloody deed and sent by the head of the liberal party, reached Gallenga; but his heart appears to have shrunk, at last, from

* *Italy, Past and Present*, by L. Mariotti.

the crime, — which was of a nature repulsive even to the most fanatical of the Piedmontese, — and he went forth to become familiar with constitutional liberty in England and the United States, and to recognize its spirit as active and paramount under diverse forms of government. With time and experience, his radical views were essentially modified; and he became one of the most intelligent advocates of the son of the very king against whose life he once conspired.

The war of opinion of which Piedmont has recently been the scene brought into direct controversy the moderate party, of which Gioberti had been the philosophic interpreter, and the uncompromising republicans, who have so long recognized Mazzini as their leader; the discussion led to taunting references to the past; and the latter reproached Gallenga with disloyalty to an association in behalf of which he had once volunteered to incur the disgraceful martyrdom of the assassin. Whether Mazzini was justified in revealing the names and plots of so many of his fellow-sufferers in the Italian cause as appear in his remarkable letter, is a question we do not pause to consider. Suffice it to observe, that the *ci-devant* Mariotti had, in the interval of more than twenty years, found reason to alter his political sentiments, and to behold an auspicious future, even under princely sway; and had identified himself with the fortunes of a progressive and liberal yet monarchical government, whose benign policy he regarded as fraught with promise to Italy. This, in the view of Mazzini, was apostasy such as exonerated him from all the claims of ancient fraternity. Gallenga, when thus openly accused of a conspiracy against the father, though it had been so long ago abandoned in thought as well as in deed, instantly laid at the feet of the son his royal gifts, the crosses of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus, and resigned his seat as a representative in the Sardinian Parliament, notwithstanding Charles Emanuel had promptly forgiven him, and once more became an exile. This characteristic experience, — the boyish enthusiasm, the youthful self-sacrifice, the sanguinary purpose, the long and studious exile, the change of opinion, the resumption of citizenship, the revival of the past as a reproach to the present, and the open discussion in the Piedmontese journals as to the

justice of Mazzini's denunciation of his old allies (some of whom were established in offices of utility and honor in the growing state), and as to the abstract justifiableness of regicide itself, — all exhibit the phases of that political transition and those gloomy exigencies which make the annals of the most beautiful of countries so intensely sad to contemplate and unsatisfactory to reason from. However vacillating has been Gallenga's political career, his literary toil has never been intermitted. While in London, he sketched with much graphic tact his early life and revolutionary experiences,* parts of which equal in interest "Lorenzo Benoni" and "Dr. Antonio"; he wrote able criticisms in the reviews on the Italian authors, and a story praised by Kingsley in his last novel; and, while at Turin, he was a most efficient contributor to the leading journals. But his most voluminous work, in English, is that named at the head of this article.

If the career of the author is significant of the later fortunes of his country, the titles of his chapters are no less indicative of the singular vicissitudes of the past history of the Subalpine Kingdom. He records successively the "civilization," "reconstruction," "ordeal," "stagnation," "eclipse," and "constitution" of Piedmont, — appellatives which emphatically suggest how extreme have been the political alternations, and how gradual the formative process whereby Sardinia has attained her present condition. The earlier annals of the kingdom are often dreary and monotonous; the chronicle is but occasionally relieved by an episode of heroism or a tradition of romance. To appreciate the actual condition, however, it is requisite to glance at the development, of the state.

At the entrance of the territory we find tokens of its character and history. On the road to Mount Cenis, in a chapel of the cathedral of Susa, is an old wooden effigy of Adelaide, the countess from whom the house of Savoy acquired its dominions; at San Michele is the place of sepulture of some of its princes; at Rivoli we behold the palace where Amadeus II. was long imprisoned; at Asti we are shown the room where Alfieri was born; here, the fortifications of Ales-

* *The Black-gown Papers.*

sandria* recall the modern wars, and fields of luxuriant grain mark the battle-plain of Marengo; and there an ancient hospice suggests memories of the primitive monastic hospitality.

Considered as a political unity, the Sardinian monarchy, or, as it has been more recently called, the Subalpine Kingdom, is a singular complication of genealogies, annexations, grants, conquests, and cessions, alternating with the fortunes of neighboring states and the alliances of her own rulers. After the Roman and the Vandal conquests, the Counts of Savoy—now by an eligible marriage, and again by diplomatic sagacity,—at one epoch by adherence to the German emperors, and at another through intrigues with the court of Spain, France, or Austria—extended and confirmed their power. The last king of Arles, according to tradition, laid the foundation of this princely house when he created its first recognized ancestor, Berthold, Count of Savoy, in 1016. Thenceforth the bounds of the state were continually shifting, but the dynasty was established. The old title of “King of Cyprus,” so often found annexed to the names of his successors, was derived from Anne, daughter of James, king of Cyprus,—the wife of Duke Louis. The will of Count Amadeus VI., in 1383, inaugurated the legal existence of the line, and by the peace of Utrecht, in 1713, Sardinia was formally acknowledged as a European kingdom.

* When the cannon presented by the different countries of the world are mounted on this fortress, inscribed with the names of states, it will be a protest against tyranny as unique as it is impressive. The following is the card acknowledging the Boston contribution:—“Signor Corelli begs leave to offer his thanks to those generous friends of Italy who have enabled him, by their contributions, to present an American cannon to the fortress of Alessandria. He assures them that their gift is already on its way, and will soon be welcomed upon the frontier citadel of Sardinia as the tribute of the friends of constitutional liberty in the New World to the defenders of constitutional liberty in the Old. It will be the novel office of this cannon to announce, on the borders of the most despotic states of Europe, that the citizens of a democratic republic can appreciate and encourage a constitutional monarchy, and that, in the patriotic exertions of Victor Emanuel and of the Count Cavour, they can recognize the fact that a monarch and his enlightened minister may be the best guardians of the happiness, the good order, and the liberty of Northern Italy. In the present threatening attitude of the old despotisms toward Sardinia, its citizens will understand and cherish the sympathy of the young republic, with its well-regulated institutions, in the stability of which is the only present hope of freedom for Italy.”

During the protracted wars between Charles V. and Francis I. Sardinia lost the Valais and Geneva (which became incorporated with Switzerland), and the Pays de Vaud, thenceforth possessed by Berne. The military distinction of Emanuel Philibert, who, after being expelled from his kingdom by the French, became one of the generals of Philip II., obtained for him the restoration of his dominions by the peace of Cateau Cambresis in 1539. With this energetic and intelligent ruler fairly began the development and consolidation of the state; and, of her long line of dukes and princes, he therefore is chiefly associated with her recent political advancement. The national life of the present has invoked his memory; the name of no other ruler is so frequently on the lips of the Piedmontese citizen; his judicious enterprises are constantly referred to, and his errors extenuated; his example is held up for imitation, and the stranger is pointed to his statue in Turin, as an effigy that recalls the best traditions of the kingdom. Says Robertson :—

“Philip, who was not ambitious of military glory, gave the command of his army to Emanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy, and fixed his own residence at Cambray, that he might be at hand to receive the earliest intelligence of his motions, and to aid him with his counsels. The Duke opened the campaign with a masterly stroke of address, which justified Philip’s choice, and discovered such a superiority of genius over the French generals as almost insured success in his subsequent operations.

“Philip, immediately after the battle, visited the camp at St. Quentin, where he was received with all the exultation of military triumph; and such were his transports of joy on account of an event which threw so much lustre on the beginning of his reign, that they softened his severe and haughty temper into an unusual flow of courtesy. When the Duke of Savoy approached, and was kneeling to kiss his hands, he caught him in his arms, and embracing him with warmth, ‘It becomes me,’ says he, ‘rather to kiss your hands, which have gained me such a glorious and almost bloodless victory.’” — *History of Charles V.*, Book XII.

To Emanuel Philibert, Sardinia is indebted for her silk culture, one of the permanent sources of wealth; for the commencement of some of the most important forts scattered through his dominions; for the principality of Oneglia, ob-

tained by exchange, and the county of Tenda, by purchase; and for the citadel of Turin. Urged by the Pope, he attempted to convert the Waldenses, and it was during his sway that the noble victory of these isolated Protestants, in which so many of their papal foes were destroyed, secured to them, for a time at least, freedom of religious worship. This most efficient of Piedmontese rulers was distinguished for prudent foresight. By acquiescence with the just demands of the Protestant minority of his people, by brave conflict with his neighbors ever bent on invasion, by promoting internal improvement and border defences, and especially by gradual withdrawal from the trammels of the French and Spanish courts, he reconstructed his state, elicited the self-reliance and the resources so desirable for its vigorous growth, and initiated that moderate policy, made up of wise forbearance and stern self-defence, which circumstances rendered the only one available for a country thus limited and exposed.

Victor Amadeus II. gained Alessandria, part of Milan, Val di Sesia, and the duchy of Montferrat, which in the twelfth century was a German marquisate, and by the law of descent ought to have previously accrued to Piedmont. To these acquisitions the peace of Utrecht added Sicily in 1713; but, seven years after, the island of Sardinia was unwillingly received as a substitute. Charles Emanuel III., the next king, as the ally of France and Spain against Austria, by the peace of Vienna, in 1735, secured Tortona and Novara, another fragment of Milan, as an imperial fief.* By the treaty of Worms, eight years afterward, during the war of the Austrian succession, a third fragment, Anghiera, Vigevano, &c., was acquired. During his reign of forty years great prosperity attended the kingdom, and the code of laws known by his name is a noble memorial of his wisdom. In his disputes with the Pope, the rights of the state were asserted and

* "Early one morning," says a self-biographer of the period, "my servant burst into my room at Milan, and drew aside the curtain. On seeing me awake, he exclaimed, 'Ah, sir, I have great news to tell you. 15,000 Savoyard horse and foot have taken possession of the city.' It was the commencement of the war of 1733, called the war of Don Carlos. The king of Sardinia had declared for the Prince, and had united his forces with those of France and Spain against the house of Austria." — *Memoirs of Goldoni*, Vol. I. Chap. XI.

preserved ; and the Concordat of 1726, afterwards confirmed by Benedict XIV., made all church appointments, and even papal bulls, dependent on his approval for their validity in Piedmont, and also subjected the clergy of the kingdom to taxation. It is recorded of this monarch, that he ever longed to add Genoa to his dominions, and that he was one of those kings "over whose cradles we weep only to breathe again at their tombs."

Victor Amadeus III. died in 1796, and his successor, Charles Emanuel IV., abdicated in 1802. The former joined Austria against France, and lost thereby Savoy and Nice ; and although the latter allied himself to France against Austria, his dominions were invaded on the pretence of popular dissatisfaction with the taxes and the nobility, by order of the Directory, and in 1798 he was forced to cede all his continental possessions to France, and to retire with his family to the island of Sardinia. After his abdication, he passed the rest of his life with a Jesuit fraternity at Rome, where he died in 1819. Meantime both Piedmont and Genoa were incorporated with the French empire. By the peace of Paris in 1814, Victor Emanuel I. received, as his brother's successor, the possessions of the house, except half of Savoy, which, however, was added by treaty the next year, together with Monaco. Carouge and Chesne were given to Geneva.

At this epoch the Subalpine Kingdom rose in importance, from its local situation with reference to other parts of Europe. A strong desire was manifest in the Congress of Vienna to reinforce the Sardinian kings, because they virtually held the passes of the Alps ; and, on the other hand, England wished to establish commercial relations with the court of Turin. Both of these diplomatic objects were promoted by the cession of Genoa to the Sardinian monarchy, and the noble city of the sea, for which her kings had so long sighed in vain, was thus arbitrarily annexed in December, 1814. The restoration of Victor Emanuel was the signal for reaction in the political and social interests of the state. The old constitution was revived, the Jesuits readmitted, the Holy Alliance signed, and a strict censorship established. In 1818 the sale of the royal domains by the French was con-

firmed, and four hundred thousand livres annually appropriated to reimburse the emigrants who had thus lost their estates. As England's ally, the king obtained honorable terms of peace with the Barbary powers, whose corsairs had seriously interfered with the Sardinian commerce, and against whom, heretofore, his own small navy had ineffectually acted. In 1821 he abdicated — on account of the Austrian occupation of his territory — in favor of his brother, Charles Felix, who in his attempt blindly to carry out the views of the Vienna Congress, and to make his country a "partition wall" between Austria and France, provoked the Piedmontese revolution. The Congress of Verona, in 1822, decreed that foreign troops should evacuate the country. The Piedmontese refugees in Switzerland called forth a remonstrance from the Allies; and not only were they removed, but the press was placed under restriction. Intercourse with Spain had ceased prior to the French invasion; and the Prince of Carignan, afterwards king, served as a volunteer under the Duke of Angoulême. Yet Sardinia rather inclined to Austrian politics. As late as 1825 a royal edict forbade any person to learn to read and write, who was not possessed of four hundred dollars; a like sum in the funds was required for admission to the universities; and translations of the modern German authors were proscribed. Charles Felix died in 1831, and was succeeded by Charles Albert, at the commencement of whose reign popular disturbances occurred in Genoa, and the merchants there offered him a liberal sum to purchase their independence, which being refused, he was virtually besieged until relieved by Austrian troops.

The real object of the late king in his military zeal and preparations, in his appeals to the patriotic, and his own courageous conduct, during the last memorable revolution, continues to be a mooted question; the ardent republicans charging him with premeditated treason and selfish ambition, and the more eclectic politicians ascribing his course to misplaced confidence and the inevitable effect of circumstances. To seize a crown and to establish a nation's independence seem purposes too wide apart to be ascribed to the same individual; yet, while justice must admit a vacillation and

compromise which fairly expose him to the suspicion of honest patriots, charity suggests the apology of a difficult and complicated situation, in which a truly heroic and self-devoted man might naturally falter. An Englishwoman of poetic genius and liberal sympathies has written his epitaph in the spirit of true magnanimity.*

One of the most prominent historical facts which strikes us on our brief survey is the comparative immunity of this region from invasion. While the rest of Italy allured barbaric hordes by its smiling plains, the wild passes of the Alps and the lands contiguous were rather passed over than invaded. We read, indeed, of inroads and partial colonization by many ancient tribes. Saracens, Hungarians, Etruscans, Ligurians, Carthaginians, and Gauls found in what is now called Piedmont sometimes a terrible avenue to more genial districts, sometimes a temporary camp or fortification, now a battle-field, and now a barrier; but the few traces that remain of them justify the declaration of the historian, that all the martial tribes of antiquity were "shy of the Alps," and that, up to the period of the Roman conquest, Piedmont was untouched by the Gaul, and only broken through by the Carthaginian. Thus left to themselves, the Subalpines preserved their normal vigor and individuality; and when absorbed, at last, into the empire of Augustus, Liguria held out longer than any region of Italy against the insidious corruption of Roman civilization, and although Cottius gave his name to the nearest Alpine range, more slowly than elsewhere in the South was the agriculturist won from rustic hardihood to urban luxury. Under Charlemagne, Piedmont was the border land between Burgundy and Italy. She dates her Christian civilization from St. Barnabas, one of the original apostles; and from that epoch, as elsewhere, the monastery and the fortress, the cross and the sword, power chiefly based on will and only tempered by a superstitious faith, moulded the character of a people thus isolated by the mountains, yet exposed by position to the contact and influence of other nationalities. From the misty era of feudal times tradition

* Mrs. Browning's *Casa Guidi Windows*, Part II. v. - xxiii.

derives the progenitor of the house of Savoy, in the person of Humbert of the White Hand, who is the legendary hero of Piedmont; and his immediate successors presented that anomalous combination of warrior and monk, marauder and pietist, which distinguishes so many chiefs in the Dark Ages.

The next peculiar historical feature is a continuous dynasty. While the temporary rule of a family or a foreign prince weakened by change and faction the loyalty of other Italian states, for centuries Piedmont rallied around the same visible symbol; and a comparison of the average deeds and characters of the Sardinian rulers is favorable to their administrative capacity. More or less ambitious, cruel, and crafty, like all races of hereditary potentates, they yet discover either a personal courage and military skill, or a wise foresight and vigilance, such as might vindicate legal authority. Through the successive reigns the house of Savoy exercised an influence in foreign courts, and even with the larger powers, quite beyond its apparent claims, either territorial or political. Its representatives in England and France were superior in intelligence and character, on an average, to the other envoys and ministers. The Popes showed great deference to Savoy. From the first, her princes were remarkable as disciplinarians. Bonaparte respected the Piedmontese valor. Their position, by frequently throwing into their hands the balance of power, favored this *prestige*; and although the family dissensions, the bigotry, and the reserve of these rulers mar the annals of their policy; though the vacillation of one gained him the sobriquet of Shilly-Shally, and caused the epithet *Felice*, attached to another royal name, to be changed, by popular instinct, to *Feroce*; although the only public memorial of one is a theatre, and another so grossly misinterpreted the spirit of the age and the wants of humanity as to revive the abuses Napoleon's rule had so long repudiated; although we find the signature of one attached to a decree of persecution against the Waldenses, and of another to an unpatriotic foreign alliance,—it is to be remembered that the education, the circumstances, and often the ulterior fate of these princes offer, if not excuses, at least grounds for charitable estimates.* The

* "Although" says Alfieri, "I have no love for kings as a race, and least of all

ashes of their progenitors were ruthlessly scattered to the wind at the outbreak of the French Revolution, and the ancient mausoleum of Hautecombe, one of the most interesting antiquities of Savoy, owes its preservation to one of the restored kings; one of the line died in a Jesuit convent at Rome, and another at a monastery of Oporto; one fled to the little island apportioned to his house, and another sought the ranks of a foreign army for refuge and distinction; one died a prisoner of state; three abdicated in despair; and the unfortunate predecessor of the present king described his lot as a choice "between the chocolate of the Jesuit and the dagger of the Carbonari."

"Environed on every hand by powerful neighbors, all whose motions the Dukes of Savoy must observe, with the greatest attention, in order not only to guard against the danger of being surprised and overpowered, but that they may choose their side with discernment in those quarrels wherein it is impossible for them to avoid taking a part, this peculiarity seems to have had no inconsiderable influence on their character. By rousing them to perpetual attention, by keeping their ingenuity always on the stretch and engaging them in almost continual action, it hath formed a race of princes more sagacious in discovering their true interests, more decisive in their resolutions, and more dexterous in availing themselves of every occurrence which presented itself, than any, perhaps, that can be singled out in the history of Europe." — Robertson's *History of Charles V.*, Book XII.

To render the bonds which unite these diverse fragments of old kingdoms still more precarious, there are the intense local patriotism of Genoa, yet mindful of her former republican integrity, and the French tendencies of Savoy, confirmed by propinquity, language, former association, and the consciousness that it is towards Italy that the aspirations of Piedmont now habitually turn. For two centuries the Savoyards were alternately under Burgundian and French rule; the original residence of their Dukes was at Bourdeaux; their mausoleum is still the shrine of local patriotism.

for despots, yet I ingenuously confess that our race of princes is good, on the whole, especially in contrast with nearly all the rest of Europe. I feel an affection for them rather than aversion, especially for the present king and his predecessor (Vittorio Amadeo II. and Carlo Emanuel), who have manifested good intentions, excellent, well-bred, and exemplary characters, and have done more good than evil to their country." — *Autobiography of Alfieri*, Chap. XIII.

The futile local insurrections and their tragic issues justify the theory of the moderate party in Italy, who look to gradual amelioration through a constitutional monarchy, such as has been and is partially realized in Piedmont; while all history, and especially that of their own country, confirms the arguments of the national party, who advocate self-reliance, distrust equally native princes and foreign allies, and fall back upon the great practical truth that "who would be free, themselves must strike the blow."

"In fact," said Napoleon, "the Piedmontese do not like to be a small state; their king was a real feudal lord, whom it was necessary to court or dread. He had more power and authority than I, who, as Emperor of the French, was but a supreme magistrate, bound to see the laws executed and unable to dispense with them. Had I it in my power to prevent the arrest of a courtier for a debt? Could I have put a stop to the regular action of the laws, no matter upon whom they operated?" — Las Cases's *Memoirs*, Vol. III. p. 93.

Not less anomalous are the present circumstances of Sardinia. Her very name is derived from a small and distant island. Of comparatively limited extent, she has a broader frontier in proportion to her area than any other European state. While no censorship, as elsewhere in Italy, interferes with the admission and circulation of books, her custom-house regulations are as minute and as strictly enforced as if the philosophy of free trade had never been broached. Rustic simplicity of life marks her highland villages, while all the excesses of fashionable gambling are rife in the metropolitan rendezvous of Aix. Placed by common sentiment in the van of Italian reforms, she yet has no political or legal right to interfere with the destinies of the peninsula. While she has within her bosom the most venerable of Protestant sects, the popular tendency is towards the grossest superstitions of Romanism. Defying papal authority, she yet is overrun by priests. Among the most genuine of Italian races, her people are yet, on one side, identified in feeling and character with the French. With the best-disciplined army, she is obliged to maintain a negative attitude. While she gives ample evidence of progress, activity, and patriotism, the

national sentiment is modified and baffled by diversity of opinion, interest, and faith.

The geographical features of this remarkable territory are not less varied than its historical fortunes. It touches and includes all that is most characteristic of mountain and plain, river and lake, sea-shore and forest. Within the limits of the kingdom may be seen the maize-fields and mulberry-groves, the wheat-meadows and the vineyards, that belong to the most fertile regions of Italy, and with them the snow-crowned peaks, the fir-clad ravines, the military highways, and the "involute summits" of Alpine districts. Here streams are fed by glaciers; here cling to a rocky hill-side groves of luxuriant chestnuts; and there, on a marshy flat, waves the rice harvest. Now we behold the white and awful brow of Mont Blanc, and now stand in a hushed and green valley, where nature wears the most soft and sequestered aspect. To-day the explorer may loiter in a palace whose furniture resembles that of Paris, and to-morrow may roam through the rude passes of an island where the horses run wild and the peasants dress in skins. The fragrant orange plantations of Nice, the palatial architecture of Genoa, and the humble parish church of the Valais, — the distant island of Sardinia, the interior plain of Turin, the maritime beauty of the Mediterranean coast, — all belong to a common jurisdiction, and own a generic political name. It is easy to imagine the local contrasts which such a kingdom affords. Perhaps no domain yields more various scenic effects, or greater diversities of character. In Piedmont the Alps and Apennines blend. The region is, in fact, a succession of natural terraces formed by the mountains, with dells, gorges, and broad vales interspersed. Within the limits of the kingdom are the most fertile section of the valley of the Po, Mont Blanc, the little St. Bernard, and that memorable highway which crosses Mont Cenis, and the Lake of Geneva is on its borders.

Thus surrounded by, or contiguous to, the famous points of European travel, watered by the most celebrated streams of France and Italy, and crowned with the loftiest summit, its natural resources are yet inadequate to its support; and the Savoyards are among the most frequent emigrants, with all

their frugal industry and simple habits, obliged to seek a maintenance as porters, pedlers, or itinerant musicians, in more prosperous countries. It is not unusual to encounter, on the road leading from a Piedmontese village, a band of hardy urchins in their best clothes, with knapsacks and staves, going forth to seek their fortunes, — perhaps to black shoes in London or grind organs in Paris, returning to their beloved pastures in summer to tend a flock or glean the harvest. The flax, grain, potatoes, and chestnuts of their rocky soil are not abundant; and the chamois and ibex grow scarce before their eager huntsmen. As late as 1854, the difference between the income and the expenditure of the Sardinian state was \$360,000, — a deficit, however, which has yearly decreased, and was originally caused by the cost of fortresses, army, navy, railways, and other essential means of self-protection and development.

In this kingdom, so diversified, rises the Po and spreads the Gulf of Spezia. The fig and the olive, hemp and walnuts, are equally indigenous; and so are the *malaria* of the fens and the *goître* of the hills. The breath of the sea mingles with that of the mountains, the amenities of the plain with the savageness of the highlands, the hardihood of the mountaineer with the effeminacy of city life, the narrow mind of the islander with the broad views of the cosmopolite, torrents and woods with orchards and gardens, the pine with the myrtle, the avalanche with the fountain; in a word, the extremes of civilization with those of semi-barbarism, high social refinement with uncultured isolation.

The very limits and language of Sardinia partake of the same incongruity. Chambery is French, Turin Italian; the Savoyards distinctively are neither. The Piedmontese are separated from Genoa by the maritime Alps, France bounds them on the west, and the Milanese on the east. Of old separating Gaul from Germany, afterwards Burgundy from Italy, they long manifested more affinity to the Provençals than to Italians; and although we now trace a greater identity with the latter, a peculiar physiognomy, hue, and tone signalize their Northern origin.

The Piedmontese dialect more nearly resembles that of

Provence than of Italy. The French language was first introduced into Turin at court by the house of Savoy, and its use confirmed by the repeated occupancy of the state by the armies of France.

"French," said Montaigne, two hundred and fifty years ago, "is commonly spoken here, and everybody appears to hold our people in great esteem and affection; the vernacular even has very little Italian about it, except the pronunciation; in itself it seems made up, for the most part, of French words."—*Journey into Italy*.

The importance of Piedmont, as a mountainous state intervening between others, is evinced by the value attached to her chief fortresses. In 1796, Napoleon's first demand upon the vanquished Piedmontese government was the surrender of Ceva and Alessandria; and to his possession of these and other strong-holds in that region is to be ascribed Austria's compliance with the treaty of Luneville, after the battle of Marengo. Fenestrelle has recently acquired a poetical interest from its being the scene of Saintine's delightful little romance of "Picciola."

"It was then," we are told, "I visited Fenestrelle, a large town celebrated for peppermint-water, and the fortresses which crown the two mountains between which it is situated, communicating with each other by covered ways, but partially dismantled during the wars of the Republic. One of the forts, however, was repaired and refortified when Piedmont became incorporated into France."

Besides the long and permeating agency of the governments, opinions, and habits of their neighbors,—the rigid Protestantism of Geneva, the politics and the fashions of France, the espionage and military tactics of Austria,—more or less operative upon the Piedmontese, according to circumstances, and besides the variety of character in the population of their own domain, another and singular distinction, which has essentially modified the career of Sardinia as an Italian state, and now inevitably affects her civic destiny, is the existence in the very heart of her mountain fastnesses, from remote antiquity, of an efficient colony of Dissenters. There is no chapter in the history of the Christian religion more significant than that which concerns the Waldenses of Piedmont. In the ravines of the grand crescent of the Alps which extends

from the Gulf of Genoa to that of Venice, so sequestered as often to become visible only from some overhanging cliff, nestle the parish churches of these primitive Christians, whose boast it is, among the so-called Reformers, that Rome left them, not they Rome; who preserved the Gospel in their memories, and disseminated it in precious fragments, when despotic bigotry had cancelled the holy record for the mass of humanity; who, in secluded hamlets, kept alive for ages the pure evangelical faith, sending over Europe, under the guise of humble pedlers and mechanics, the first missionaries, giving refuge to persecuted disciples, enduring with heroic patience and loyalty a long series of martyrdoms, transmitting orally through generations the history of which their enemies had destroyed nearly every written vestige, having for their most cherished heirloom a leaf of the Bible, and confronting with equal and pious self-reliance the savage troops and the jesuitical reasoners of pope and king. The most romantic scenery and the oldest fortresses of Piedmont are associated with the valor and the sacrifice of the Waldenses. The rocky mounds of Balsi signalize the pass where a few hundred dalesmen long kept at bay twenty thousand Savoyard and French troops. Along the very road where Hannibal's army passed, and by which Irenæus carried the Gospel into Gaul, these defenders of the faith, again and again, in the lapse of centuries, have retreated or made a desperate stand. From amid the gloomy arches of the larch and pine, their ancient hymns have stolen upon the mountain breeze. In every village have blazed the fagots of their martyrdom, in every cave has shrunk the fugitive; each pass has proved a Thermopylæ, each rock an altar. Their oldest chronicle dates beyond the antique songs of Provence. Their annals are designated by the names of their regal or prelatie persecutors, by a memorable battle or sacrifice, by confiscation and expatriation, by devastation, massacre, and slavery, — above which, like the blue sky over one of the half-savage glens of their mountain home, broods the serene and infinite spirit of immaculate faith. The heroism of these scattered, reprobated, and often half-exterminated people, continually asserts itself around the political vicissitudes, the wars, the bigotries, and the reforms of Piedmont.

Now a pope's bull, now a royal edict, at one time a fiendish executioner, and at another a zealous propagandist, legislation, ecclesiastical power, military force, sectarian hatred, are let loose upon the devoted race, who, simple in their habits, inured to hardships, and strong in righteous purpose, by climbing almost inaccessible peaks, by rallying in narrow defiles, by strength of arm, by argument, remonstrance, and appeal, and especially by the consistent piety of their lives, — though baffled, exiled, burned, murdered in cold blood, — yet retained their identity of character and purity of doctrine, until the freedom of conscience and of worship originally enjoyed was at first evasively tolerated, then reluctantly conceded, and at last triumphantly claimed and honored.

From the midst of picturesque scenery, the traveller, who leaves the gay capital to view these haunts of faith and of martyrdom, enters the rustic but hospitable parsonage, the village school, or the venerable church, to witness a simplicity and an earnestness akin to those which hallow the annals of the Covenanters, or the primitive worship of New England. The only ornament on the walls of vicarage or academy are the portraits of benefactors, perhaps that of Sir William Beckwith, their liberal friend long resident among them, or of Rev. Dr. Gilly, their English historian, or of Henri Arnaud, of old their intrepid and saintly leader. The beautiful shaft of Monte Viso is the natural beacon and landmark of this secluded people. Without political influence, isolated, self-devoted, driven, again and again, from its material stand-point, this Protestant community is yet historically allied to the great nations of the world, — befriended by Holland and England, counselled by William of Orange, protected by Cromwell, sung in plaintive eulogy by Milton, and, in later times, relieved and gladdened by the contributions of Switzerland and the United States. Its annals are as romantic as its present aspect is interesting. Recognized by the very dynasty once most active in their persecution; their first written memorials identical in language with the songs of the Troubadours, and long among the literary curiosities of the University of Cambridge; their doctrinal symbols purely and exclusively Scriptural; with local memorials of heroism equal, in moral

significance, to Marathon, Uri, and Bunker Hill; at one moment saved from destruction by a fog, and at another by a snow-covered harvest, — Nature ever their benefactor; poor, hardy, faithful; their very perpetuity one of the marvels of history, — the Vaudois of Piedmont offer a wonderful problem to the philosophic and Christian lover of his race. Manufactures, especially that of silk, have recently begun to increase among them. Their institutions are attracting liberal curiosity and generous foreign aid; and their legal protection in the metropolis of a kingdom one fifth of which is the property of the Roman Church, may be regarded as the most auspicious sign of the times in the complex aspect of Italy's welfare. Two considerations, suggested by the acute Guizot, must modify our judgment in estimating their past misfortunes. "Their acts of imprudence and violence," he says, "frequently furnished the government with pretexts, and sometimes with motives, for persecution"; while, on the other hand, "they possessed among the Piedmontese aristocracy many benevolent patrons, who recommended the government to pursue toward them a more benevolent policy, and to respect their ancient liberties." Over their humble temples are inscribed passages from the New Testament; the means of elementary instruction are available to all; many of their pastors are distinguished for learning and piety; at La Tour they have a flourishing college, and their schools at present number one hundred and sixty-nine, (some open only in the winter months,) maintained partly by the budget of the province, with occasional grants from the government.*

* "In the Piedmontese valleys are fifteen Waldensian parishes, confided to fifteen pastors. These valleys contain about 22,000 souls. The number of Roman Catholics mixed with these 22,000 Waldensians is somewhere about 3,000, with twenty-nine priests. Signor Revel, Moderator of the Waldensian Church, at the commencement of his ministry having been sent as minister of a parish at the very highest point of one of the mountains, there found a priest, whose charge consisted of one good old man of seventy years of age. The poor priest had never succeeded in making a single proselyte; and one thing that sadly afflicted him was, that very often he could not say mass, for want of some one to assist him. According to the testimony of the Rev. Mr. Noel, who some months ago visited these valleys, it appears that a truly evangelical revival has taken place among them. The Waldensians have 169 elementary schools, many of which, however, are only open for four months in the year. The number of the scholars averages 4,826. They possess

The capital of Sardinia is, in a great measure, destitute of those historical associations, vestiges of classical antiquity, and trophies of art, which lend so peculiar a charm in Cisatlantic eyes to the other cities of the Italian peninsula. It lacks also the attractions of climate, which, at certain periods of the year, make the seaboard and the South so enchanting. In summer it is parched with heat, and in winter chilled by the mountain winds and the vicinity of snow. The insurance companies which protect the agriculturists from the disastrous ice-freshets, and the establishment of public fires for the benefit of the poor, indicate a rigor of climate unknown at a distance from the Alps. There is no school of painting, as at Bologna, no mediæval architecture, as at Florence, no Christian temple such as hallows the Seven Hills, no disinterred city, whose relics make the stranger pause with wonder and delight, as at Naples. The aspect of Turin is essentially modern. The fresh tint of its marble edifices, the broad rectangular streets, the busy square, and thronged colonnade, attest a metropolis more like Paris than like Rome. In certain phases it is imposing, but as a whole monotonous. Fogs as pervading as those of London, and heat such as during the summer solstice broods over the plain of Lombardy, alternate with seasons of bracing mountain air and clear, salubrious sky. With all abatements that may be made, the situation and environments

two little hospitals, each containing twenty-six beds. In various parts of the Sardinian kingdom they have succeeded in establishing missionary stations. In Pinero, a town containing 15,000 inhabitants, the first stone has been laid of a Waldensian temple. The 'Table' maintains a preacher there, a teacher, and a colporteur. In Turin, the population of which is 150,000, they have a beautiful temple, a pastor who preaches in French, and two preachers who preach in Italian, three masters, one mistress, and two colporteurs. They publish a small journal in the Italian language, *La Buona Novella*, and have a depository of books and religious tracts under the direction of a committee. In San Mauro they have a master, who is at the same time colporteur. In Genoa, a city of 100,000 inhabitants, they have a preacher, a missionary, a master, a mistress, and two colporteurs. In Sanpier d'Arena, a suburb of Genoa, a master and preacher. In Favale a little congregation exists, directed by a teacher who studied at the normal school of Torre, the capital of the valleys. In Nice, a city of 20,000 souls, they maintain a pastor, an evangelist, a minister, a mistress, and two colporteurs. In all, there were twenty-four agents in the service of the Waldensian Church in Italy. The College of Torre possesses twelve professors, and one hundred and five students, comprising those of the Normal School and of the Theological Faculty."

of Turin are eminently picturesque. It is a tableau framed by the mountains; and as the light and shade, the sunshine and the snow, the twilight, moonbeams, or shower, flit or linger over these majestic ranges, they present a succession of tints and forms which the lover of nature can never weary of beholding. Sometimes, on a spring morning, an emerald hue predominates, and on the soft declivities hundreds of smiling villas greet the eyes; and at other times, every hoary peak is amethystine with the glow of sunset.

Nor is the capital itself without objects and places of interest, which, in a land less renowned for traditional associations, would be considered most attractive. On the summit of one of its circumjacent heights is the church of La Superga, the mausoleum of her modern kings, erected in fulfilment of a vow of one of them after victory; and the favorite promenade below is said to be the site whence Tasso derived his idea of the gardens of Armida. The royal gallery boasts many a gem of each great Italian master, with good specimens of the Flemish and Spanish schools. Many foreign painters were naturalized here, and one of the popular sculptors of our day, Marochetti, is a native of Turin. But a more characteristic object of interest is the armory, where, among other curious and rare trophies, may be seen the sword of the brave Emanuel Philibert, the staff once grasped by Alfonso of Ferrara, old Damascus blades, helmets in the style of the Renaissance, antique shields and targets, and two eagles of Napoleon's old Guard. Another remarkable collection is the museum dedicated to Egyptian relics, — one of the most complete and valuable in Europe, — whose antiquities Champollion has illustrated.*

When Montaigne passed through Turin in 1586, he found it a "small town standing in very marshy ground, neither well built nor very pleasant." A century and a half later, Goldoni, perhaps somewhat conciliated by his dramatic success, gives us a more tempting picture: "I was unacquainted with Turin, which I found a delightful place. The uniformity of the buildings in the principal streets produces a charming effect;

* *Lettres relatives au Musée Royal Egyptien de Turin.*

the squares and churches are exceedingly beautiful, and the royal residences, both in town and country, display great magnificence and taste."

Like our own capital, Turin is a city made by government. Spacious, regular, and elegant, it wants variety, and that distinctive aspect which marks the towns whose origin and growth have been less conventional. As in Paris, the journal, *café*, and promenade have a representative character and political significance. Each party has its rendezvous and its organs. The number of official buildings, the pamphlets offered for sale, the talk under the porticos, and often the costume and associates of prominent individuals, suggest the relations of the city to the state. Among the citizens may be seen the ultra royalist of the last and the radical innovator of the present century, with all intermediate varieties, as affected by religious, civic, social, progressive and retrograde, ambitious and conservative sentiments. And this vitality of opinion, this public interest in questions of policy and administration, the discussion incident thereto, and the new animation and dignity, both intellectual and moral, thus given to life, manners, and conversation, constitute, after all, the salient distinction between the capital of Sardinia and that of Lombardy, Tuscany, or the Roman States. We feel that it is something for any class of Italians to be thus emancipated from the frivolous inertia consequent upon despotic rule, — to have a positive influence upon national affairs and scope for intelligence and sympathy.

In the long and various record of English travels in Italy we find but slight allusions to Sardinia and her capital; and those refer chiefly to the political events of which they were the scene, or to some remarkable landscape. The letters of the poet Gray, so minute in praise of Roman medals, here only speak of the magnificent scenery of the Grande Chartreuse, where he wrote his *Alcaic Ode* in the *Album of the Fathers*. Bishop Berkeley briefly describes his Alpine transit, and Addison paused amid the snows of Mont Cenis to indite his poetical epistle to Montagu. Yet we are not without salient data whereby to estimate the character and interest of the state at different periods, and as exhibited to various minds.

After the siege of Trino, in 1639, Count Grammont, with his friend Matta, figured in the *soirées* of Madame Royale, as the Duchess of Savoy was called, at her famous villa near Turin, and has left a characteristic picture of the social life of the place and period. He declares that, "though the men of Turin were extremely handsome, they were not possessed of the art of pleasing"; for which deficiency he and his companion seem to have successfully endeavored to atone. The details given of amorous etiquette and pedantic gallantry indicate a most frivolous tone of society, and a taste for petty intrigue quite at variance with the manly aptitudes of military, and the comprehensive tact in diplomatic life, which are so often cited as historical traits of the Piedmontese.*

But the most satisfactory evidence of the normal tendencies of the national character and of the actual progress and prospects of Sardinia, a century ago, is derived from a native writer, who revisited his country after a residence in England which taught him justly to estimate both moral and economical interests. The name of Baretti is familiar to us, not only through his well-known Italian Dictionary, but as one of that renowned band of good talkers and literary *confrères*, of which Dr. Johnson was the central personage, and James Boswell the garrulous but faithful scribe. To the London public, indeed, for a few weeks, he was one of those objects of tragic interest whose memoirs form the staple of *Causes Célèbres*, though happily his respected and worthy name escaped association with those of Savage and Dr. Dodd,—men of letters under the ban of the criminal law. In self-defence he killed a man in the street, and was tried for murder, but, without delay, acquitted; and among the illustrious friends who testified to his excellent character were Johnson, Goldsmith, Burke, Garrick, Reynolds, and Beauclerk. Baretti was the son of an architect of Turin. He first wrote a popular, yet severe, literary critique, called *Frusta Literaria*. His Dictionary

* "The inhabitants of Turin," writes a more amiable and less aristocratic witness, about a hundred years after, "are very kind and polite; they have much of the manners and customs of the French, and speak their language familiarly; on the arrival of a Venetian, Genoese, or Milanese, they are in the habit of saying, 'He is an Italian.'" — *Memoirs of Goldoni, written by himself*.

was a work of eminent utility, and a desideratum in England. Its preparation was coincident with Johnson's task in the same field, and this circumstance strengthened their intimacy. The genial cleverness and attainments of the Piedmontese doctor rendered his society most acceptable to the brave old English lexicographer. "Sir," he remarked to Boswell, "I know no man who carries his head higher in conversation than Baretti. There are strong powers in his mind. He has not, indeed, many hooks; but with what hooks he has, he grapples very forcibly. His account of Italy is a very entertaining book."* If this "giving an opinion" is characteristic of the dogmatical sage, not less so is the observation of his admiring satellite,—that he "only appeared twice in his life in a court of justice, and that was to give evidence for Baretti, which he did, *'in a slow, deliberate, and distinct manner, which was uncommonly impressive.'*"†

Dr. Baretti returned to Italy in 1760, and, on finding himself again with his London friends, was induced to write and publish a work on his own country, on account of the superficial and erroneous views current through the popularity of Sharpe's Tour. Among other opinions which he ably controverts, is that which estimates the Italians *en masse*, and as a nation, without reference to local peculiarities. In defining some of the characteristics of each state of the peninsula, he speaks, with evident authority, of the natives of that which gave him birth. The first trait, he informs us, which distinguishes the Piedmontese from other Italians, is a want of cheerfulness; and every traveller fresh from Naples or Tuscany is struck with the grave expression and the absence of hilarity in the faces and manners he encounters at the foot of the Alps. An historical exception to the usual associations connected with the cities and even the provincial towns of Italy he recognizes in the paucity of genius both for art and poetry. In his time there were, indeed, architects, sculptors, and painters at Turin; but they enjoyed only a mediocre reputation, and were comparatively few. On the other hand, he

* *Account of the Manners and Customs of Italy.* By Joseph Baretti. London. 1768.

† Boswell's Life of Johnson.

claims for his fellow-citizens superiority in the practical arts, in civic knowledge and scientific ability. Their courage when engaged with French, Spanish, and German foes, their excellent military discipline and skill in fortification, tactics, and diplomacy, are dwelt upon as acknowledged national qualities. *Le Piemont est la sepulture des François*, was a proverb. So general was the martial spirit, that the favorite costume of peasants was the cast-off uniform of soldiers. The names of Berthollet and Pinto rival, in Piedmont, those of Vauban and Cohorn in France. To besiege La Brunette or Fenestrelle was deemed a fruitless experiment; and Baretti seemed to think that, when Cuneo, Demonte, and Alessandria were finished, they would effectually command the entrance of the kingdom. With both earlier and subsequent writers, he recognized the French proclivities of the people, who, while they imitate at court and in society the manners of Paris, lack the native grace, ease, and aptitude there so remarkable. Among the nobility were famous negotiators, but scarcely any scholars; the neglect of Italian literature was then, as before and since, an anomaly; and an unusual degree of ignorance prevailed in the middle classes. A few good lawyers, physicians, and mathematicians alone redeemed the commonplace attainments of this rank; and conversation, to one so familiar with the sense of Johnson, the eloquence of Burke, and the geniality of Goldsmith, appeared frivolous and insipid at the *cafés* and *soirées* of Turin. The women of society he describes as either unprincipled pleasure-seekers or bigoted prudes; and the few who read, at an epoch when female education was scarcely recognized in its modern sense, confined their attention to French romance. He gives the palm, as regards moral consistency, to the artisans and peasantry, and commends the agriculture of Piedmont as fully equal to that of Tuscany. The Savoyard character is described as of the same generic quality, but more plain and thrifty in consequence of the mountain life and barren soil. Baretti concludes his picture with the severe assertion, that the Piedmontese "greatly admire the French, hate the Genoese, despise all other Italians, and are not beloved by anybody."

Sardinia, however, with her picturesque natural beauty, and

her brave people, was not long to continue without a poet, or to fail to associate herself with what was most efficient in the spirit of the age. Asti gave birth to Alfieri in 1749; and Rousseau found his benefactress, his home, and no small part of his best education, at Chambery, so that his name is for ever attached to that city and its neighborhood. It is a singular coincidence, that the Italian state which was so long proverbially deficient in lettered genius should thus be identified with the most vigorous modern representatives of the national mind,—the greatest dramatic writer and the most influential of European social philosophers, of their respective times.* Goldoni, the favorite comic author of the Italian drama, speaks gratefully of the early success of his plays at Turin. One of his most popular comedies was suggested by the only complaint which reached his ears at the theatre of that city,—namely, that he “was not Molière.” “I respected,” he writes, “this master of the art as highly as the Piedmontese, and was seized with a desire to give them a convincing proof of it.” He accordingly wrote “Molière.”

The scientific theme which absorbed the naturalists of Europe a century ago was Electricity. Franklin’s experiments and discoveries awakened universal curiosity and interest; and when, at a subsequent period, Dr. Priestley wrote the history of these inquiries, and recognized the facts lying within this new sphere of human knowledge, he gave the palm to Beccaria as the most versatile and complete in his researches. His “*Electricismo Artificiale*,” published in 1772, contains all that was then known on the subject. Franklin highly prized his writings, and caused them to be translated. King Charles Emanuel invited him to a professorship in the University of Turin, and in 1759 employed him to measure a degree of the meridian in Piedmont. This led to another valuable contribution to science. Cassini published certain doubts of the correctness of Beccaria’s measurement, which

* Incidentally the frontier summits of the kingdom are likewise associated with Gibbon and his “Decline and Fall”; from that “covered walk of acacias” where he walked to and fro, half regretting that his long task was completed, a step brought him to the garden, whence, as he tells us, “a rich scenery of meadows and vineyards descends to the Leman Lake, and is crowned by the stupendous mountains of Savoy.”

gave occasion to Beccaria's letter "*d' un Italiano ad un Parigiano*," in which he explained the influence of proximity to the Alps on the deviation of the pendulum. This indefatigable, self-absorbed, and therefore careless, but highly esteemed philosopher, died in 1781.

If our American sympathies are thus indirectly linked with Piedmontese science, through the development of Franklin's great principle in the labors of one of his most ardent disciples, the literature of the state more nearly appeals to us through the writings of Carlo Botta. He first made known the story of the American struggle for independence to the land which gave birth to Columbus. The Italian historian of our Revolutionary war was a native of San Giorgio in Piedmont. He studied the natural sciences at Turin, was one of the medical staff of the French army, and accompanied it to Corfu. In 1799, as a member of the Provisional Government, he approved of the incorporation of the state with France, and became one of the Piedmontese *consulta*, after the battle of Marengo, but offended Napoleon by a candid reproach of his tyranny. His name was erased from the legislative roll on account of his being a foreigner, but he was one of the *corps législatif* who in 1814 declared that the Emperor had forfeited his throne. The next year he was appointed Director of the Academy of Nancy, but returned to private life at the restoration. Botta was a prolific writer; his histories, scientific memoirs, travels, and an epic poem attest his learning, industry, and talent; and, even now, the American in Italy finds the mass of readers acquainted with his own country only through the novels of Cooper and "*La Guérre Americana*" of Carlo Botta. One of his sons has pursued the art of engraving with success at Turin, and another was long employed in the East in the service of the Jardin des Plantes. It will ever be our national reproach, that the first European historian of our heroic age was allowed to endure privation in his declining years. He died in indigent circumstances at Paris.

It requires not the name of the great tragic poet of Italy, inscribed at an angle of one of the thoroughfares of Turin, to associate, not the street only, but the city, with Alfieri. Indeed, his memory redeems the comparatively material and

every-day ideas first suggested by this elegant but unromantic capital. The terse emphasis of those powerful dramas, wherein the classic form of antiquity is pervaded by the earnest spirit of modern genius, and gives to the sweetest of languages an intensity and relief, like sculptured words, — grand, direct, and rigid, — serves to impress the reader of Alfieri's life, so candidly yet philosophically written, with all the details of his boyhood and youth in this the well-described scene of his so-called education. We remember how his childish fancy was impressed when he first entered Turin, through the Porta Nuova and the Piazza San Carlo, to the Annunziata where stood his uncle's house, the subsequent "galley-slave" monotony and toil of his academic life, the forced and unintelligible study of Nepos and Virgil, the dreary Latin lectures on Philosophy, the blind grappling with Rhetoric, Physics, and Law, under the pedantic and conventional system of monastic preceptors, the stolen banquets upon Annibale Caro, Ariosto, and Metastasio, and the consoling interviews with his beautiful sister at the convent grate. From these "puerile juvenile vicissitudes," and this "ludicrous education," as he calls them, we follow him, in imagination, as we tread the streets familiar to his youth, through the invalid years of that wasted spring-time of a gifted soul, abandoned to a frivolous society and a civic existence affording no scope to high ambition, no goal for patriotic sentiment. His pride in dress, fencing, and gallantry, his love of horses, his capricious journeys, his sensibility to nature, his impetuous, aspiring mind, aristocratic temper, and liberal convictions, and, finally, his heroic self-emancipation, iron will, and immortal triumphs, — all blend with the scene around us, and seem appropriate to the picturesque heights, disciplined soldiery, and mountain air. Alfieri aptly called his native country "amphibious," and indignantly complained that he grew up there, ostensibly educated by the state, ignorant of the riches of Italian literature, and hearing only French or a *patois*. Not until years of study in Tuscany had given him command of "that soft bastard Latin," in his hands destined to receive its Dantesque energy, and a long residence in England had familiarized him with the national self-respect which he sought in vain on the

Continent, does he seem to have found the utterance and attained the moral consistency which finally rendered him the chief genius of modern Italy.

With the rise of that insidious revolutionary element, Carbonarism, appeared another poet, who, without the commanding genius of the tragic bard, not inadequately represented a more beautiful phase of his art, and, by the simple and pathetic record of his own sufferings in the cause of patriotism, added a memorable name to the roll of Piedmontese authors, and indirectly enlisted the world's sympathy for his country's misfortunes. The graceful style and tender eloquence of Silvio Pellico (born at Saluzzo in 1788), associated as they are with a tragic experience, and permanently embodied in "*Francesca*" and "*My Prisons*," offer a remarkable contrast in their beautiful atmosphere of religious and affectionate sentiment to the severe and self-reliant tone of Alfieri. To complete the tardy but versatile literary development of the state in that favorite department of modern authorship, the historical romance, the Marquis d' Azeglio (born at Turin ten years after Pellico), a son-in-law of its Italian father, Manzoni, and at once the best living pictorial artist and one of the ablest statesmen of Piedmont, achieved in "*Ettore Fieramosca*" and "*Nicolo di Lapi*" works of masterly research, powerful characterization, and classic finish.

When the tide of revolution stagnated ten years ago in Europe, it left this state alone in the possession of civic, educational, and economical benefits won through years of discipline, forbearance, and heroism. In the period which has since elapsed, the advancement of Sardinia, in essential prosperity, has been more like that which marks American than Italian civilization. Freed as she is from the wiles of Jesuitism, repudiating papal encroachments, and disentangled from Austrian influence, the external obstacles to national progress were no sooner removed, than new vigor was developed in the internal administration of the kingdom, and the wants and aspirations of her citizens asserted themselves with authority and wisdom. Commerce increased a hundred-fold; railroads connected the most distant points of the realm; productive industry was effectively stimulated; new dwellings arose;

neglected fields were laid open by the ploughshare; hill-sides were terraced for vineyards; the silk manufactories were multiplied; and in village and capital, on highway and mountain-path, an animation and cheerful industry startled the traveller, accustomed to the mendicant swarms of the Neapolitan and the lethargic repose of the Roman States. Such palpable fruits of a liberal government justify the closing declaration of Gallenga's history, — that "Italy may yet be a dream, but Piedmont is reality"; and confirm Lord John Russell's late prophecy, that "Sardinia has a great future." These hopeful auguries have been sometimes regarded as extravagant, when considered in relation to what is called the "Italian Question," and the growth of republican principles on the Continent; and doubtless the sanguine temper of those who deeply sympathize in the woes and yearnings of Italian patriotism have ascribed to this flourishing state an influence and future direction in the destiny of the peninsula unwarranted by the facts of history and the probabilities of national character. Yet this does not invalidate the actual promise of the hour, and the visible achievements of the state. It is a grand, surprising, and unique spectacle which Sardinia invites us to contemplate. While every honest patriot trembles at Naples, either with fear, pity, or indignation, at the regal crimes there enacted darkly and incessantly against the inalienable rights of humanity; while an imbecile Pontiff is intrenched at the Vatican by French bayonets; while the stranger in Lombardy recoils, with outraged self-respect, from the *espionage* to which he is hourly subjected, — in Piedmont one may listen to free and eloquent parliamentary debates; he may read journals that advocate every phase of opinion; he may behold fifty thousand Italian refugees protected and encouraged in their several vocations;* he may hear the manly

* Among them Mamiani of Rome, a deputy in the Parliament of Sardinia; Cecilia and Farina, distinguished Sicilian writers; Mancini of Naples, Professor of International Law in the University of Turin; Scialoja of the same city, equally eminent as a Professor of Political Economy in that institution; Guerrazzi of Leghorn, the celebrated historical novelist; Pallavicino of Milan, so long a Spielberg prisoner, and now a Sardinian representative, whose interesting memoirs have just appeared; Garibaldi, the able and brave general; and the patriotic Foresti, so long esteemed as an Italian professor in New York. The venerable and heroic General Pepé also found his last secure asylum in Piedmont.

declaration of Cavour, when the Austrian government complains of the comments of the Sardinian press: "*La libera discussione degli atti del governo forma una delle basi essenziali del regime politico in vigore in Piemonte*"; he may listen to the republican arguments of Brofferio, — once a state-prisoner for expressing the same views in verse, — or discuss with the benevolent Valerio his plans for supplying the poor with fuel or the emigrants with money at the expense of the government; he may trace a noble system of public instruction, from the infant and the primary school upward to the university; he may peruse over his breakfast a local newspaper which treats of the question of the day, — whether it be the war in China or the new project for connecting Europe and the East, — as fully and ably as the best journal in Paris or London; he may find, in another issue of the prolific press, the relation of church and state, or the religious sentiment itself, treated in every aspect from the most conservative to the extreme rationalistic view;* he may ponder over a letter from New York, intelligently unfolding the practical working of our political machinery, reporting our last scientific convention, or giving the details of free schools, trade, or society in the United States;† he may inspect a Protestant hospital at Genoa, or hear a Protestant clergyman preach to the veterans in the military asylum of Asti; he may visit the new sepulchre of a patriot years ago sacrificed by despotic cruelty, but drawn from his neglected grave to be honored with the late, yet tearful, obsequies decreed by an enfranchised people; he may enjoy an unmutilated Italian tragedy, glowing with free utterance or stern with patriotic resolve, or join in the worship

* In a recent number of one of these journals, in speaking of the difference between Christianity and Romanism, the writer says: "Romanism has come at length to be the antithesis of Christianity, as it is presented in the New Testament, and by the Fathers of the primitive Church. Things cannot continue in the state in which they now are. The most devout and respectable priests, the most religious persons, all admit that quite too many absurdities have been introduced into Romanism, and that a change is absolutely necessary. Such a change is desired by them, and at the same time dreaded, — desired, because they need it; dreaded, because they cannot avoid the presentiment, that the disciplinary party may also take away some doctrines of the Church." This new paper will advocate a separation of the Church from the State, "*liberty of conscience, of worship, and of speech.*"

† *L' Opinione* has a regular and able New York correspondent, Professor V. Botta.

of the once anathematized Waldenses in their new and beautiful metropolitan church; he may watch the progress of a monument to the Piedmontese soldiers who perished in the Crimea, or note the manly bearing and intelligent activity of the various groups on the promenade and under the porticos. And this experience is adequate to inspire any candid mind with hope and confidence. Such freedom of opinion, such mental activity, the mere contact of so many of the enlightened and the persecuted, the habits of industry, the motives to self-culture, the avenues open to truth and reason, the generous hospitality and mutual respect inevitably encouraged by these circumstances, insure an indefinite degree of amelioration within and beyond the boundaries of the state; and these results are independent of the less hopeful aspects which are occasionally urged in a spirit of distrust. They are no less true and auspicious, because a large proportion of the inhabitants are Romanists, because the king is tainted with the imperfections of self-will and an undue love of pleasure, because the chief cabinet minister is ambitious, the taxes are disproportioned, lotteries tolerated, a Protestant colporteur occasionally arrested by some provincial magistrate, or a refugee banished for conspiracy, or called upon, in some isolated district, for his passport.

The actual reforms and the free popular discussion, the economical development and the educational resources of Sardinia, are thus, in the highest degree, encouraging to the growth of liberal principles and of enlightened national sentiment. But the antagonistic relation the little state now openly sustains towards Austria, the probable interference of other Continental powers to retain for the latter her Italian dominions in case of war, and the variety of opinions warmly espoused in Piedmont, and throughout the peninsula, in regard to future movements and ultimate organization, tend greatly to complicate the specific action and the final policy of the Subalpine Kingdom. Any crisis in the affairs of the Continent, such as a revolution in Naples or Lombardy, or a check upon imperial authority in France, may precipitate or modify the present tendencies of the Sardinian government. Meantime, next to the actual prospects of the state itself, — which

we have seen to be singularly hopeful, — the great question is as to the real character of the existent administration. What degree of patriotism and intelligence, of courage and good faith, can we discover in the men and measures of the hour? The parliamentary debates and the character of the leading representatives and senators will compare favorably with those of Great Britain and the United States. Amid all the rancor of faction and the selfish zeal of political ambition, there has been, and still is, evident a spirit of wisdom, forbearance, and dignity which reflects honor on the Parliament of Sardinia. Alfieri di Sostengo, Giacinto Collegno, Giulio, Plezza, and other senators, are worthy to rank with the most patriotic and able representatives of a free country; few members of a popular assembly have exhibited such incessant benevolent activity, few breathed more wise republican eloquence; and the only fault which their opponents can find with the most prominent is, that the motives of one may be ambitious, and of another selfish, — insinuations harmless, indeed, when considered as the desperate fault-finding of political animosity. As a general fact, the spirit, principles, ability, and good faith of the two houses are recognized as exemplary.

Victor Emanuel's broad, good-humored face and well-fitted uniform are familiar to us through the many engravings his visit to England called forth; and his physiognomy seems to be a just index of his character, — kind in disposition, good-natured by temperament, far more sensuous than saturnine, at court almost pedantic in his enforcement of etiquette, but in private life what is called a "good fellow" to an extent that would satisfy the most companionable democrat, and, whatever secret love of power he may cherish, quite aware of his obligation to conform to the deliberate will and real welfare of the state. It is difficult to see any serious obstacle to the public welfare in the sway of a ruler so constituted and recognized. He apparently clings to the obsolete forms and machinery of regal power from a conviction that they now chiefly represent it, — that the office of royalty is becoming more and more lost in the name. His sense of enjoyment, too, is a less alarming trait, than the self-denying reserve of ambition. There is no superstitious reverence for the "divine right of

kings" in the feeling with which his subjects regard him; they have learned to see in their monarch only a chief magistrate, while they respect his office, and honor its appointments and privileges. That Victor Emanuel enjoys their confidence, as a ruler having the good of the state at heart, is evident from the spontaneous and affectionate welcome he received on his return from England,—an ovation which formed a complete contrast to the prearranged and prepaid greeting that coldly hailed the arrival of the French Emperor at Paris.

If the machinery of administration is almost ludicrously disproportioned in Sardinia to the extent of the kingdom and the "divinity" which hedges her king, more technical than moral, no European state devolves more important functions on her prime minister. Her relations with Italy, and through Italy with Austria, and thus indirectly with the rest of Europe, are of a significance entirely beyond her dimensions on the map; and the history of the past, as well as the events of the future, may convince us that larger interests depend on the fortunes and conduct of Sardinia, than are dreamed of in the philosophy of the shallow observer. Accordingly, one of the most interesting desiderata to a stranger, in contemplating her condition and prospects, is to ascertain the views, ability, and principles of the ministry, and especially of its presiding genius.

The antecedents of Count Cavour vindicate his claim to a high and influential position in state affairs. Compared with the average experience of Italian noblemen, his opportunities for practical knowledge and comprehensive views have been remarkable. The facts which his opponents cite against him seem to us not unfavorable either to his integrity or success. That his origin can be traced to an illegitimate scion of the house of Savoy, which is the current belief; that his family is of indisputably ancient nobility; that he was educated at the Military Academy of Turin, and graduated there with rank in the artillery; that he, soon after, assisted his father in the grain and cattle trade, which laid the foundation of their wealth, then travelled, for years, in Switzerland, France, and England, and returned to engage in journalism and political life,—are all circumstances eminently auspicious to the enlargement and discipline of that superior natural intelligence which is

universally conceded to the Count. We find in the stages of this career all the essential elements of political education. His noble origin absolves him, in no small degree, from the suspicion of interested motives in any democratic sympathy he may exhibit. His early training as a soldier was an apt initiation to public life in a state so military in taste and policy. His commercial experience is, for legislative use, worth years of abstract study in political economy. His familiar acquaintance with the social life and the governments of France and England must prove available in diplomacy and internal improvements; while there is no school like the editorship of an able paper for testing speculation by discussion, and the acquisition of tact in the illustration of principles, as well as tolerance in the expression of opinion. Thus furnished and disciplined, Count Cavour brought to the service of his party, and subsequently to that of his country, broad views, sagacious insight, and indomitable energy. He seems to have modified his opinions as a journalist and an official in his early career, according to the exigencies of the times and of public sentiment, but not, so far as we can discover, in a manner to invalidate his patriotic integrity. If he was once an advocate of such a constitution as that of France, it was because he regarded it as adapted to the wants and capacities of the people. If he was opposed to a second campaign against Austria, after the armistice of Salasco, his reasons were probably cogent. He has been accused of complicity with the unfortunate Charles Albert in a predetermined defeat at Novara; but the mystery in which that subject is involved, and the party violence and prejudice which obscure the truth and pervert the facts, render his motives and conduct at the juncture so uncertain, as to give him the benefit, at least, of doubts as to conduct, and of subsequent patriotism as to motives. Without question, much of the success that has attended the Sardinian policy during the last few years is owing to the vigor, industry, and prescience of Count Cavour. Although some of his commercial plans have failed, the taxes have been regularly paid, the finances of the state judiciously adjusted and prosperously managed, many new avenues of industry and

sources of wealth opened, and many old ones revived. He won respect and showed courage and skill as a member of the Paris Congress. He is indefatigable in his work, and thoroughly in earnest. The chief charges alleged against him are that he is ambitious, and interested in every promising speculation originated in Piedmont; but these personal motives, with an intelligent statesman, are fresh guaranties that he will be wise and prudent in finance, and will respect popular sentiment in his use of power, as the surest means to accomplish even selfish aims. His course and character, his bearing and purposes, are, as is usual with energetic prime ministers, regarded from the extremes of distrust and partiality. One observer compares his glance to Pitt's eagle eye, and his figure to Sir Robert Peel's, while another discovers a Jesuitical meaning in his smile and a courtier's trick in his affability. One set of persons attribute his influence to his wealth, and another to his talent. This critic thinks that he is playing a part, and another that he was born for a statesman. Under the porticos of Turin gossip murmurs of some old amour, or some instance of intolerance toward a rival; and, in a liberal English journal, we find him described as a popular idol. Now we are told that he is an abject imitator of Guizot, and again that he resembles Napoleon. It is declared, on one hand, that his only interest in the Italians is to promote, through and by them, the aggrandizement of the Savoy dynasty; and on the other, that his affinities are as catholic as they are national. He is lauded as an intelligent advocate of free trade to-day, and derided as a mere stock-gambler to-morrow. His aristocratic relations and his state craft, his love of money and his pride of country, his deference to theory and his tenacity of independence, are the contradictory motives assigned for his policy and his manners. Meantime, that he has done and is doing many wise, brave, and useful things for Sardinia, the stubborn evidence of facts incontestably proves. There is need of both his acuteness and his *bonhomie*, his self-devotion and his intrepidity; and, by virtue of these great qualities, he effectually serves the state.

The authentic basis of foreign judgment in regard to the spirit and ability of an administration must be documentary

and practical. Diplomatic notes, speeches, and the results of a policy, are more indicative of ministerial genius and character than the comments of partisan journals. At the results of Cavour's activity in Piedmont, since he edited the most able constitutional journal, ten years since, we have already glanced. Prosperity at home and respect abroad have accrued to Sardinia. The middle party, of which he was the first organ, achieved a fortunate equilibrium of discordant political elements. D'Azeglio, like Lamartine in France, proved the eloquent expositor of the most intelligent popular will. But the great work of reform — the removal of time-hallowed abuses, the establishment of new and enlarged principles of finance, and the check to ecclesiastical and aristocratic monopolies — required a strong, pertinacious, self-reliant man; and Count Cavour proved adequate to the exigency. A somewhat aggressive policy, and a firmness almost intolerant, were indispensable in a leader at this crisis; and these qualities were confessedly tempered in him by suavity and openness to conviction, so that, with all the faults ascribed to him by political and personal enemies, we cannot fail to recognize in his career an adaptation of mind and a liberal energy of purpose, which have been conducive to the best results. Identical with this tangible proof of his efficiency, is the evidence of his correspondence and discourse. The temper and style of his letter to Count Buol, which led to the Austrian envoy's withdrawal from Turin, and of his speech in defence of appropriations for the immediate refortification of Alessandria, are dignified and appropriate, convincing and eloquent. The bad humor of the Austrian government doubtless originated at the Paris Congress, when Cavour's attempt to enlist the sympathies of England and France in the Italian cause was a tacit but keen reproach to that infernal despotism of which the double-headed eagle is the vigilant symbol. With the most pacific intentions, it is, indeed, difficult to imagine how estrangement, if not open rupture, could be long avoided between states so diverse in their economical condition and social atmosphere; the one industrious, free, and contented, the other impoverished, baffled, and degraded; a liberal and rep-

representative press on one side of the border, and on the other, censorship, espionage, and persecution; here constitutional self-government, and there foreign domination sustained only by armed force.

While progress is thus evidently the watchword among the patriotic reformers of Sardinia, it is a progress tempered by wisdom. Thus the decree of the Chambers which suppressed the conventual religious orders, excepted the active Sisters of Charity.* Among the more recent measures proposed or adopted are the construction of a railroad between Turin and Nice, the increase of the army, and the grand enterprise of a tunnel through Mont Cenis.

All the facts of the hour and all the prognostics of the journals do not, indeed, breathe encouragement. There are, in the circumstances of the present, the influences of the past, and the discordant elements of the future, opposing and ret-

* The number of religious orders of males possessing property in the *Terra-firma* States affected by the first article of the said law is fourteen: i. e. the Agostiniani with shoes, the Agostiniani without shoes, the Benedettini Cassinesi, the Canonici Regolari Lateranensi, the Carmelitani without shoes, the Certosini, the Cistercensi, the Domenicani, the Conventuali, the Minimi, the Filippini, the Olivetani, the Oblati, and the Servi. They occupied 66 houses; and when the commission took possession there were 557 priests, 215 lay brethren, and 9 serving novices and servants, giving a total of 781 persons, or an average of 11 persons to each house. The number of female religious orders in the *Terra-firma* States affected by the same law is eleven: the Agostiniane, the Battistine, the Benedettine Cassinesi, the Canonichesse Lateranense, the Carmelitane without shoes, the Celestine, the Chiarisse, the Cistercense, the Crocifisse, the Domenicane, and the Terziarie Domenicane. They owned 46 houses, and numbered 1085 persons, of whom 814 were "coriste," or admitted nuns, 265 "converse," or persons in a probationary state, and 6 novices, or servants. They averaged 23 persons to each convent, or more than double the number averaged by the male orders.

The 66 convents inhabited by the possessing monks were found to contain 3,905 chambers, and to be of an aggregate value of 49,757 francs. From houses, lands, capital, and other sources, the gross receipts were 668,685 francs 63 cent.; of which about a sixth was in houses, and more than half in rural possessions to the amount of 4,932 hectares of land, the rent of which at the time of the promulgation of the law did not average more than 77 francs the hectare. Comparing the total of rural possessions with the number of families to which they belonged, there appears an average of 75 hectares to each family. The rent derived from capital and credits of various kinds amounted to 105,488 francs 21 cent., or about 1,596 francs for each family. The debts of all sorts contracted by the administrators of the male orders amounted to 216,640 francs 42 cent., so that the net rent, exclusive of the value of the monasteries, was 452,045 francs 21 cent.

rograde forces. The large number of educated refugees have overstocked the liberal professions in Sardinia; the favor extended by the government towards these unfortunate guests has often excited native jealousy, while certain restrictions, not applied to citizens, have equally provoked the discontent of the exiles. The expensiveness of the army and the beneficent schemes of the administration have frequently made taxation onerous. The ill-defined and somewhat incongruous liberty of the press and of public worship has led to serious, though limited disaffection. The sincerity of the state in her foreign relations, the disinterestedness of her purposes in regard to Italy, the motives and scope of her English and French alliances, have all been gravely questioned. "Sardinia," says a late British Tory journal, "duped by the lying promises of Russian aid against Austria, and duly informed of the course France meant to take, agreed to Russia's non-

The estimated rent of the 46 convents occupied by the nuns in possession amounted altogether to 73,145 francs, or an average of 1,590 francs to each convent, a value equal to double that of the monasteries. Comparatively, the gross rent is still greater on the whole of the different categories of property, amounting to 514,609 francs 76 cent.; of which 292,870 francs is derived from rural possessions, to the extent of 2,783 hectares of land. The debts in five of the male religious orders absorbed a third of their gross income, while those of the female orders hardly exceeded a fourth. The net revenues of the latter were found to amount to 389,155 francs.

In the island of Sardinia the male orders affected by the law are seven in number, occupying 51 houses; and the female two, with 9 houses. The first comprehend 322 persons, the second 166. The estimated rent of the whole of the monasteries and convents so occupied is very small. There were attached to them 1,054 other buildings, and 3,260 hectares of land.

The houses of the Mendicant orders suppressed amount to 183, of which 136 are in the *Terra-firma* States, and 47 in the island of Sardinia. The total number of members of these orders is 3,135, of whom 175 are women and 2,960 men. Of the latter 1,709 are priests (*sacerdoti*), 983 laymen, and 268 either novices or servants. In general, the value of the convents of the Mendicant orders is found to be very trifling. They possess, however, other property, which produces a rent of 83,804 francs 36 cent.

There are 66 collegiate churches affected by the law, comprising altogether 650 canonries; so that there is an average of 10 canonries for each church, or about one for 6,500 souls. These canonries have a net rent varying from 150 to 1,800 francs. The smallest are in the province of Liguria, and the richest in those of Novara, Vercelli, and Turin.

As to the simple benefices, the commission has not yet been able to take possession of them, but they are calculated to number about 1,700.

fulfilment of the treaty"; and elsewhere, "Whether the renewed allegiance of France and Sardinia to the British side of the question be genuine or feigned, remains to be seen."

In these and many other speculations we find only what baffles conjecture rather than hope, and do not participate in the apprehension, often expressed by English writers, that Piedmont will be flattered into complacent error. We trust to the insight of her statesmen, the liberal sentiments of her Parliament, the discipline and valor of her army, the efficiency generated by prosperous activity, the purifying and elevating influence of public education, hospitality, beneficence, and religious discussion, the severe lessons of the past, the noble pledges of the present, and the vast interests of the future, to inspire, sustain, and enlighten national self-respect and fraternity.

Sardinia was the only Italian state which had the resources and the public spirit to take part in the war initiated by England and France to check Russian encroachments. Her capital alone, of the cities of Southern Europe, has grown in size, beauty, and population within the last ten years. All the states of Italy have contributed to the monument in process of erection there in honor of the Crimean heroes of Piedmont, and to the fund designed to purchase cannon wherewith to fortify Alessandria; while the cold reception of the Austrian Emperor on his recent visit to Lombardy, and the firmness and dignity manifest in Cavour's response to his minister's recent complaints, (a diplomatic note which has made an impression in Europe similar to that caused by Webster's response to Hülsemann,) indicate a unity of political sympathies, of which Sardinia is at once the nucleus and the exponent, which gives authority to Gallenga's final historical inference: "In his bold, confident youth, an Italian patriot may have rejoiced in the firm belief that his age was destined to witness the rearing up of the whole edifice of Italian nationality. He must now be thankful to Heaven, if, dying, he carry with him the conviction that the first stone, the *corner-stone*, is at least laid."